/16/

601 614 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 602 614 An individual, when born, is related to the members of two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use [609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 587 614 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belonging to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of 614 595 polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

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two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 MV9 Tzeltal MV9

The boy is expected to live for a year with the girl's parents; then he makes his own home, usually near that of his father. If the boy's parents are sufficiently powerful, they may pay the girl's parents twelve pesos in lieu of the year's service. Villa was informed that a woman unable to pay a debt or a fine may be taken as a secondary wife by any married man who will pay the debt or fine; that a woman who loses her virginity may be bought similarly of her parents for a little rum; and that in the case of any of these polygynous marriages, a single household is maintained. No such household was observed.

No information was obtained on birth customs,[29] or on customs in connection with death.[30]

Blom and LaFarge describe a church festival held at Tecojá ranch on June 22 and 23.[31] When Villa visited the highland villages the carnival was being celebrated. In Tenejapa on February 20 he witnessed the "Festival of the Flags" (*tahimalkin*). The (annually elected) leaders of the festival, the *alfereces*, assembled in the morning at the church. Each man conveyed a red banner with green edges, fastened to a pole, and each held in his mouth a short hook on which an orange was impaled. Nothing was learned as to the significance of these objects. The alfereces remained for a time inside the church drinking rum and singing. They then went by fours to pray in turn before each of the crosses set up in the village. The rest of the day they spent visiting the house of each one of them in turn; in each house they sang the same song sung in the church; in each the host offered rum, so that by nightfall all were drunk. These acts were to be twice repeated during the days following. They had for their stated purpose the announcement of the days of carnival. On the following Thursday the carnival became generally celebrated, and many natives went out costumed and masked.

The alfereces were accompanied by musicians, and also by three personages carrying the dried bodies of, respectively, a wild cat, a rodent called *saben*, and an iguana. Villa was informed that these animals are used in a later festal pantomime in which the alfereces enact a sowing, and in which these animals are represented as performing their characteristic mischief.

Villa observed other elements of the carnival ritual in Oxchuc. On Thursday, February 24, Indians of the calpul of Santo Tomás assembled in the church where they prayed for a time before the large altar, and then danced and drank rum in the nave. The dance was performed alternately by men and by women, and was accompanied by music from a harp, a guitar, and a rattle made of a calabash and a deer's hoof. On the following day these acts were performed by Indians of the other calpul; on this occasion the music was furnished by two drums and a flute, and the leader (*capitán*) was dressed in red. On this latter day natives of the calpul of Santo Tomás moved in procession through the streets; four individuals bore each a large pole to which were fastened ribbons of various colors; a fifth carried a red banner.

[29] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:359.
[30] *Ibid.* 2:360–362.
[31] *Ibid.* 2:364–368.
[32] The frequent association, in Middle America, of small animals, especially furred animals, with festivals, in connection with ideas of fertility and of festal buffoonery, has been noted. See Redfield, 1936, pp. 231–243.

583 584 which are exchanged between future parents-in-law, the bride-price or bocado is paid. The bocado is fixed: 300 pesos in goods.

582 184 434 Parents try to marry off their daughters within their own economic level to provide a similar standard of living for them. They will strongly refuse to give them to a poorer household if they are not very poor themselves. If the household is very poor, the first solution is to marry off the daughters, since they are consumers who do not contribute to the household income. If a poor household cannot find a husband for a daughter within the village, they will even give her to an outsider, for example, to a man from La Palizada. This is viewed as an unfortunate, but inevitable, choice. La Palizada is a settlement in the high, cold [595] country. It is very poor. A woman marrying into it is viewed with pity because La Palizada men are polygamous and their wives work in the cornfields with them. Of two cases of marriages with La Palizada which we know about (one in the past and another that is contemporary), the only reason given for the marriage was the poverty of the households.

582 583 If a young man in town insists on marrying the daughter of a couple richer than his own household, they will refuse because "the girl is not used to the hardships." If the girl decides on her own that she likes the man, the usual procedure is elopement at night to the boy's house. In this case, a poor man can get a richer bride without the bride-price, but he does not get any of the economic advantages shared by her family. The girl is cut-off from any social interaction with her family of orientation. Later, if the marriage proves stable, the young deviant couple can attempt